XI.—PROPER NAMES IN OLD ENGLISH VERSE.

It is true that the poets often allow proper names to disturb the rhythmic character of verse; but there are limits beyond which few versifiers will be found to push any special license that they may be disposed to exercise in the use of names. The famous Shakespearean *crux* in the line,

" Lucius, Lucullus, and Sempronius Vllorxa,"
            [*Timon*, III, IV, 112.]

illustrates, for example, that degree of metric excess which establishes the final right of excision. However, in spite of the difficulties encountered in the rhythmic handling of names, it is the prevailing practice of the poets to conceal difficulty in smoothness of workmanship,[1]—the current pronunciation of the name is with nicety wrought into the rhythm of the verse, and the marks of labor disappear. With this principle in mind one may turn to Old English poetry with the reasonable expectation of finding names, without violation of their accepted pronunciation, properly

[1] There is regal advice upon this subject which is so refreshingly naïve that it will always appraise itself:

"That ȝe eschew to insert in ȝour verse, a lang rable of mennis names, or names of tounis, or sik vther names. Because it is hard to mak many lang names all placit together, to flow weill. Thairfore quhen that fallis out in ȝour purpose, ȝe sall ather put bot twa or thrie of thame in euerie lyne, mixing vther wordis amang thame, or ellis specifie bot twa or thre of them at all, saying (*With the laif of that race*) or (*With the rest in thay pairtis,*) or sic vther lyke wordis: as for example,

" *Out through his cairt, quhair Eous vvas eik*
VVith other thre, quhilk Phaëton had dravvin.

"ȝe sie thair is bot ane name there specifeit, to serue for vther thrie of that sorte."

            James VI of Scotland, I of England, *The Essayes of*
            a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie, Edinburgh,
            1585 [Arber's *English Reprints,* No. 19, p. 62].

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fitted into the structure of the verse.   One should, therefore,
not be expected to hesitate in reading the following lines
in this manner :

> $\bar{A}bimeleche$ $sw\bar{a}$ $hine$ $\bar{A}brah\bar{a}m$ $b\bar{\alpha}d$.   [$Gen.$ 2758.]
> x $\acute{\cup}$x | $\acute{\cup}$x ‖   x x x $\angle$ | x x $\angle$.

> $\flat\bar{a}$ $\bar{A}brah\bar{a}m$ $Abimeleche$.   [$Gen.$ 2831.]
>   x $\angle$ | x $\angle$ ‖ x $\acute{\cup}$x | $\acute{\cup}$ x.

> $\flat\bar{a}$ $\bar{g}\bar{\imath}en$ $w\bar{\alpha}s$ $yrre$ god $Abimelehe$.   [$Gen.$ 2741.]
>   x   x   x $\angle$|x $\angle$ ‖ x $\acute{\cup}$x | $\acute{\cup}$x.

But this scansion ignores the primary law of alliteration ;
the assumed rhythm of the name $Abimelech$ must therefore be
revised, and three of the half-lines just cited must be scanned :

> $Abimeleche$,
> $\acute{\cup}$ | $\acute{\cup}$x $\grave{\cup}$ x.

This is accordant with all the remaining occurrences of the
name :

[$Gen.$ 2621[a].]	$under$ $Abimelech$,	x x $\acute{\cup}$	$\acute{\cup}$x x.
[$Gen.$ 2716[a].]	$\flat\bar{a}$ $ongan$ $Abim\alpha leh$,	x x x $\acute{\cup}$	$\acute{\cup}$x x.
[$Gen.$ 2668[a].]	$eorlum$ $Abimeleh$,	$\angle$(x)	$\acute{\cup}$ $\grave{\cup}$x x.

The alliteration is indeed now correctly restricted to the
$ictus$, but there still remains a serious violation of the law
of rhythm in the quantity of the stressed syllable.   Is the
scansion of these lines therefore to be further revised, and are
we to infer the change of $\overset{\grave{\cup}}{A}b\breve{\imath}melech$ into $\overset{\acute{\;}}{A}b\breve{\imath}melech$?   There
is no strong presumption in favor of an affirmative answer to
this question, for we have to assume the persistence of the
Latin accentuation of the scriptural names.   In the case
of $Abimelec$, the Hebrew compound Ἀ$b\hat{\imath}$-$M\acute{e}lekh$ ('father of
the king') has conformed to Latin accentuation, and the
Latin $Melch\hat{\imath}sedech$ in like manner represents the Hebrew
$M\grave{a}lk\hat{\imath}$-$Ç\acute{e}deq$ ('King of righteousness').   Now it is this Latin

accentuation under which all Scripture was brought into England. The Anglo-Saxons said *Melchīsedech* for the same reason that they said *Gregŏrius* (more accurately, with the secondary accents, Melchīsedĕch, Gregŏriùs, or, on occasion, as will be shown, Mèlchīsedĕch, Grègŏriùs), and accordingly scanned these names, after the pattern of *Abimelech*, as follows:

[*Chr.* 138.]   *swā sē mǣre īu   Melchīsedech.*
                 x x $\acute{}$|x $\acute{}$ || $\acute{}$ | $\acute{}$ x $\backprime$ (D²).

[*Gen.* 2102.] *þæt wæs sē mǣre   Melchīsedech.*
                  $\acute{}$ x   x | $\acute{}$ x || $\acute{}$| $\acute{}$ x $\backprime$.

[*Men.* 39.]   *Gregōrius   in godes wǣre.*
                 ʊ|$\acute{}$ x$\backprime$ || x ʊ̸x $\acute{}$ x.

[*Men.* 101.]   *Gregōrius   ne hȳrde ic gumena fyrn.*
               ʊ|$\acute{}$ x $\backprime$|| x x x x ʊ̸x |x $\acute{}$.

This formula of accentuation is also illustrated by *Bethūlia*:

[*Judith* 138.] *Bethūliam   Hīe ðā bēahhrodene.*
                  ʊ |$\acute{}$ x$\backprime$ || x   x $\acute{}$ | ʊ̸x x.

[*Judith* 327.] *tō ðǣre beorhtan byrig   Bethūliam.*
              x x x $\acute{}$ | x   ʊ̸x || ʊ |$\acute{}$x $\backprime$.

That the Latin accent is always retained as an ictus requires no further proof; but it may still be doubted whether the additional initial ictus in the type of names just considered does not demand lengthening of the vowel. In names like *Jācōb, Jōsēph, Sātān*, etc., the required length is given; such names therefore furnish no evidence pertinent to the inquiry. On the other hand, names like *Băbĭlōn* and *Hŏlŏfernēs*, in which the first two syllables are short, are significant in permitting scansion without change in syllabic quantity.

Babilon is of frequent occurrence in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and the metre never requires length of the initial syllable. Thus,

[*Dan.* 689ᵃ.]   *þæt hē Babilōne,* x x ⚡ꭓ | ⌐x,

represents the scansion of *Dan.* 700ᵃ; 660ᵃ; *Gen.* 1633ᵃ; 1707ᵃ; *Ps.* 86, 2ᵃ; 136, 1ᵃ; 136, 8ᵃ.

Babilōn burga, ⚡ꭓ ⌐ | ⌐x (A 2a), or perhaps better ⚡ꭓ x | ⌐x, of *Dan.* 694ᵃ, is to be compared with *Babilōne burh,* ⚡ꭓ ⌐ x | ⌐ (E) of *Dan.* 601ᵃ, which is also the rhythm of *Dan.* 47ᵃ; 99ᵇ; 104ᵇ; 117ᵃ; 209ᵇ; 229ᵇ; 256ᵃ; 449ᵇ; 461ᵃ; 488ᵃ; 642ᵃ.

The hypermetric rhythm of *Dan.* 455ᵃ, *wæs heora blǣd in Babilōne,* is satisfactorily interpreted by Sievers (*Altgerm. Metrik,* p. 142) as being x x x ⌐ | x ⚡ꭓ | ⌐x (BC). In the remaining three occurrences of this name we have to assume synizesis of *ia = ja; ie = je* (cf. Sievers, *ibid.,* p. 126, § 79, 2):

[*Dan.* 70ᵃ.]   *tō Babilōnia,*   x ⚡ꭓ | ⌐x.
[*Dan.* 164ᵃ.]   *blǣd in Babilōnia,*   ⌐x | ⚡ꭓ ⌐ x (D).
[*Dan.* 173ᵃ.]   *bresne Babilōnige,*   ⌐x | ⚡ꭓ ⌐ x.

Two instances of the occurrence of *Holofernes* (*Holofernus*) present the rhythmic elements already considered:

[*Judith* 7ᵇ.]   *Gefrǣgen ic ðā Holofernus.*
                  x x x x x ⚡ꭓ | ⌐ x.

[*Judith* 21ᵇ.]   *Đā wearð Holofernus.*
                  x   x   ⚡ꭓ | ⌐ x.

To complete the data for the study of this name, we have now to consider four instances of its occurrence as a complete half-line (*Judith* 46ᵃ; 180ᵃ; 250ᵃ; 337ᵇ). This takes us back to the question of the permissibility of a short initial ictus, which now assumes this form, shall we retain *Hŏlŏférnus,* ⚡ x | ⌐x, in these four instances, in accordance with the inference established by all the occurrences of *Babilōn* and reënforced by two of *Holofernus?* Our answer is affirmative, inasmuch as it unifies a principle of scansion not only for the names already considered, but also for all others. Before

discussing this principle itself, it may be desirable to increase the illustrations of its application.

The name *Maria* has been fitted into almost all the principal rhythmic types. The simplest conditions are present in type C:

[*Elene* 775ᵃ.]   and *þurh Marian*, × × ⌣́ | ⌐× .

So also in *Elene* 1233ᵃ; *Men.* 20ᵃ; *Chr.* 445ᵃ; *Hö.* 84ᵃ.

In *Chr.* 88ᵇ, *Sancta Maria*, ⌐× × | ⌐×, and *Hym.* 10, 13ᵃ, *Sanctan Marian*, the name does not alliterate, and the scansion indicated is therefore to be preferred before a possible D, ⌐× | ⌣́ ⌐× ; on the other hand, the double alliteration in *mægð Maria*, *Chr.* 176ᵃ, establishes a preference for D 3 (Sievers, *Altgerm. Metrik*, pp. 34, 157). However, *mæg Dāvīdes*, *Chr.* 165ᵃ, in which the name does not alliterate, and the rhythm is therefore intended to be ⌐× | ⌐× (rather than ⌐ | ⌐ ⌐ ×), in accordance with the word-accent of the oblique case, clearly shows that the presumption in favor of *mægð Maria*, ⌐ | ⌣́ ⌐ ×, is not strong enough to make it inadmissible to regard the double alliteration in this instance as merely a superadded grace which does not affect the rhythm, and to scan ⌐× | ⌐× .

Type E is represented in *Sat.* 438ᵇ, *þurh Marian hād*, × | ⌣́ ⌐ × | ⌐; and again in *Chr.* 299ᵇ, *and þē, Maria, forð*, × × | ⌣́ ⌐ × | ⌐, in which it is to be particularly noticed that the vocative, requiring the emphatic utterance of the name, permits a partial reduction of the chief word-accent. Is it the recessive accent of the vocative that is operative here? However that may be, there is nothing in the present instance to warrant the assumption that this recession was strong enough to reduce the usual word-accent still further so as to result in × × ⌣́ | × × ⌐ . But this partial reduction of the word-accent,— a reduction of the primary to a secondary accent,—is also the characteristic feature of the following rhythms of A 2:

[*Men.* 51ᵃ.]	*Marian mycle*,	⌣́ ⌐ ×	⌐× .
[*Kr.* 92ᵇ.]	*Marian sylfe*,	⌣́ ⌐ ×	⌐× .
[*Hö.* 9ᵇ.]	*Maria on dægrēd*,	⌣́ ⌐ × ×	⌐⌐ .
[*And.* 688ᵇ.]	*Maria and Jōsēph*,	⌣́ ⌐ × ×	⌐⌐ .

In the quantity of its initial syllable, the name *Jūdḗa* presents that variation from *Marḯa* which has been supposed to favor the shifting of the chief stress to the initial syllable. But here too, as in the case of *Marḯa*, it is not a shifting but rather a reduction merely of the word-accent that has taken place. The accented syllable is no longer supreme in its capacity to receive the ictus, but it at most shares this function equally with the initial syllable, to which it may also, on occasion, be subordinated.

The varieties of rhythm in which *Jūdḗa* occurs are very unequally represented. Type C embraces the largest share : in *Jūdḗum*, × ∠ | ∠ ×, *Hö.* 99ᵇ ; 103ᵇ ; 128ᵇ ; 131ᵇ.—*þone Jūdḗas, Chr.* 637ᵃ.—*swylce hē Jūdḗa*, × × × ∠ | ∠ ×, *And.* 166ᵃ ; similarly *And.* 12ᵃ ; 968ᵃ ; 1410ᵃ ; *Fata* 35ᵃ ; *Elene* 216ᵃ ; 268ᵇ ; 278ᵃ ; 328ᵃ ; 977ᵃ ; *Ps.* 75, 1ᵇ (cf. 68, 36ᵇ ; if the preposition is to receive the ictus, *Elene* 278ᵃ is also to be compared). Type D is represented by *werude Jūdḗa*, ⌐× (×) | ∠﹅× , *Ps.* 113, 2ᵇ, and *hæleð Jūdḗa, Hö.* 13ᵇ ; and type E by *Jūdḗa cyn*, ∠﹅× | ∠, *Elene* 209ᵃ (cf. 837ᵃ).

In scanning Jerū́salēm (*Hierū́salēm, Gerū́salēm*) it is to be borne in mind that *j* alliterates with *h* and with *g*.

The most simple formula is found in the complete half-line *Hierū́salēm*, ⌐ | ∠×﹅ (D 4), *Ps.* 121, 3ᵃ ; so also *Sal u. Sat.* 201ᵇ ; 234ᵇ. This is frequently varied by the admission of anacrusis : *tō Hierū́salēm, Elene* 273ᵇ ; *Chr.* 533ᵇ ; *Gūð.* 785ᵇ ; similarly *Dan.* 2ᵃ ; *Fata* 70ᵇ ; *Elene* 1056ᵃ ; *Ps.* 78, 3ᵇ ; 101, 19ᵃ ; 121, 2ᵃ ; 124, 1ᵇ ; 127, 6ᵃ ; 134, 22ᵃ ; 146, 2ᵃ. The anacrustic beat is expanded in *þæt is on Hierū́salēm, Ps.* 67, 26ᵃ, and in like manner in *Ps.* 64, 1ᵃ ; 115, 8ᵃ ; 121, 6ᵃ ; 136, 6ᵃ ; 136, 7ᵃ. This expansion is perhaps not to be regarded as resulting in a hypermetric rhythm in *Gif ic þīn, Hierū́salēm*, ∠ × × | ⌐ | ∠ ×﹅ (AD 4), *Ps.* 136, 5ᵃ (cf. *Hwæt, þū eart, Babilōne, Ps.* 136, 8ᵃ), although this rhythmic phrase paves the way to *gold in Gerū́salēm, Dan.* 708ᵃ, which may be scanned as hypermetric, ∠× | ⌐ | ∠×﹅ ; this would be equally true of *Herige Hierū́salēm, Ps.* 147, 1ᵃ. But in these two

instances it is better to exclude the name from the alliteration
and accordingly to scan thus : ∠ (x x) | ∠ x ∖, and ∮x (x x) | ∠ x ∖,
as is to be inferred from :

[*Chr*. 50.] *Ealā sibbe gesihᵹ   sancta Hierūsalēm.*
    x x ∠ | x x ∠ ‖ ∠ (x x) | ∠ x ∖

[*Ps*. 78, 2.] *Settan Hierūsalēm   samod anlīcast.*
    ∠ (x x) | ∠ x ∖ ‖ ∮x | ∠ ∖ x

Here the name is released from sharing the alliteration, and
is scanned according to its prose-accents. These are two
important facts which at once make manifest the persistence
of the word-accent, and the special character of the initial
ictus of names not accented on the first syllable. The same
phenomena will be observed in :

[*Hö*. 23.] *sigefæst and snottor.   Sægde Jōhánnis.*

[*Hö*. 50.] *Geseah þā Jōhánnis   sigebearn godes.*

[*And*. 691.] *suna Jōsēphes,   Símōn and Jácōb.*

Confirmation of this rhythmic use is furnished by that of
the title *ápóstŏlus* in its Anglo-Saxon forms :

[*Men*. 122.] *Petrus and Paulus: hwæt, þā apóstolas.*
    ∠ x x | ∠ x ‖ x x x ∠ | x ∠

[*Fata* 14.] *Petrus and Paulus.   Is sē apōstolhād.*

[*And*. 1653.] *þurh apóstolhād   Plātan nemned.*

This riming of *apostle* on *p* is also found in Ælfric (*Biblio-
thek der ags. Prosa*, III, p. 52, l. 51):

    swā swā sē apostol Petrus   on his pistole āwrāt.

It will be to the present purpose to add from Ælfric's
freer rhythms further illustrations of the employment of the
alliteration of an interior syllable which has the chief word-

accent : *Isaias* alliterates with *s* (*Bibliothek der ags. Prosa,* III,
p. 21, l. 188); *Judeiscan* with *d* (*ibid.,* p. 66, l. 26 ; p. 71,
l. 162; p. 101, l. 309); *Amanes* with *m* (*ibid.,* p. 101, l. 311);
Sebastianus with *b* (*Lives of Saints,* Part I, p. 122, l. 104 ;
p. 138, l. 339 ; p. 144, l. 437); *Chromatius* with *m* (*ibid.,* p.
126, l. 152 ; p. 132, l. 257); *Policarpus* with *c* (*ibid.,* p. 128,
l. 199); *Tiburtius* with *b* (*ibid.,* p. 140, l. 379); *Lucina* with
c = s (*ibid.,* p. 146, l. 468); *Mediolana* on *l* (*ibid.,* p. 116,
l. 2); *Agathes* on *g* (*ibid.,* p. 198, l. 45); *Basilissa* on *l* (*ibid.,*
p. 92, l. 52; p. 96, l. 99). We have thus in the decline of
the classic regularity of the native versification an increasing
tendency to scan names according to word-accent only, just as
the versifier of the *Metres of Boethius* has, by way of varia-
tion, in one instance done with the name *Aulixes :*

[*Metr.* 26, 21.]   *þā þā Aulixes   lēafe hæfde*

(cf. Rieger, *Verskunst,* p. 11, note).

With this partial exhibition of the manner in which the
Anglo-Saxon poet handled foreign names with Latin word-
accent, it will be possible to consider the theory of rhythmic
stress which has been assumed in the scanning of the selected
illustrations.   In stating this theory there will be no occasion
to restate in detail the well known and generally accepted
induction of Sievers (*Beiträge,* X, 492 f., XIX, p. 448 note,
p. 456 note ; *Altgerm. Metrik,* p. 124 f.), and of Pogatscher
(*Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen
Lehnworte im Altenglischen,* p. 16 f.), which has been applied
by Kauffmann to the scansion of the *Heliand* (*Beiträge,* XII,
349 f.).

After Sievers had so successfully revealed the structure of
Old English verse, and had deduced therefrom the rhythmic
function of secondary accents, confirming and extending the
less complete conclusions of Rieger and others, there was
naturally nothing to expect of the Latin names in verse
except exact conformity to the fixed laws of the five types
of rhythm.   Of these laws none was believed to be more

inflexible than that of the syllabic quantity of the ictus; and whatever difficulties appeared to arise in bringing the accentual phrases of foreign names under the dominion of the rigid law of the native ictus, these were overcome by an appeal to the Germanic word-accent, as a further consequence of which the condition for the required lengthening of short initial syllables, it was held, was forthwith at hand. Sievers, in other words, concluded (in agreement with Rieger) that the initial unaccented syllable of foreign names received an accent (indeed the principal accent) in Old English, and that under this accent a short syllable became long; this law was then extended by Pogatscher so as to embrace all learned loan-words (p. 31): "In gelehrten Entlehnungen gelten die haupttonigen Silben als lang." But, exclusive of the proper names, there are very few learned loan-words which may be supposed to affect the present inquiry. It is therefore better first to consider the law in question in its application to the proper names only. This is the particular purpose of the present discussion.

In the first place, it is pertinent to ask those who may be unwilling to substitute the mode of scansion illustrated above for that of Sievers and Pogatscher to explain, on the one hand, the tendency exhibited by Ælfric to reclaim for ictus the original Latin stress to the exclusion of the new initial stress, and, on the other hand, the continuance in the language to the present day of the Latin accentuation of many of these names, such as *Abimelech, Jerusalem, Elizabeth, Judea*, etc. Lachmann's observation of the disturbing influence of the Germanic versification in this province led him to say (*Kl. Schriften*, I, 387): "Nur dies will ich noch bemerken, dass, wäre in der deutschen Poesie die Form der Alliteration herschend geblieben, die fremden Namen sich immer mehr zu der deutschen Accentregel würden bequemt haben." However that may be, it is to be kept in mind that Ælfric, whatever his innovations may be, was still under the reign of the old system of versification, although in justice to

Lachmann it should also be carefully noted that he saw in the alliterative verse merely that force which tended to bring about the change gradually which it could possibly never wholly accomplish.

A more complete interpretation of Lachmann's words will furnish the true basis for further investigation. It is unmistakably this, that the alliterative verse forced its peculiar demands, with more or less uniformity, upon the foreign rhythm of names, just as would be expected in the case of any other system of versification. That under varying types and fashions of rhythm, or of versification, experience in incorporating foreign elements will beget correspondingly varying categories of structural license. All rhythmic usage of the names here considered, be it furnished by Cynewulf, by Chaucer, by Shakespeare, by Milton, or by Browning, must therefore be subsumed under this general principle.

In the statement of the general principle which has now been arrived at, the term 'license' implies, of course, that the poet's use of foreign names, while its main features will reflect the current pronunciation, will occasionally make discernible possibilities of stress which are in part, or altogether, obscured in prose; besides, other more or less artificial effects may be admitted which will remain inoperative in moulding the accepted form and pronunciation. A capricious accentuation of names by Chaucer and by Shakespeare, for example, have not disturbed the normal history of these words, but the average practice of these and of all the poets bears surest testimony to the validity of the laws of persistence and of change written in that history.

Self-evident as these general propositions may be, the present argument will be promoted by an illustration of those accentual possibilities which, obscured or neglected in prose, are conserved by rhythm.

Iterated acknowledgment is due Sievers for his fine discrimination in classifying secondary word-accents and in proving their rhythmic function in Anglo-Saxon. He has

left for future inquiry some questions relating to an apparent
conflict between this rhythmic function and the laws of
grammatical inflection, but for the historic study of English
rhythm he has made the right beginning. But, although
Sievers has opened the way, no one has hitherto consistently
and completely pursued the rhythmic function of secondary
word-accents along the entire course of English versification.

From Swinburne back to the *Bēowulf* there remains to be
retraced an unbroken continuity in the principal categories
of what may be called the notes of the more subtile harmo-
nies of the language. The poets have always exercised the
right,—and their art has always demanded that they should,—
to place the ictus upon the second member of substantive
compounds, and in like manner to call forth the suppressed
note of such derivative syllables as *-lic* (*-ly*), *-ness, ig*(*y*), *-er,*
-en, -el, -or, -est, -ing, etc.

In the following lines the marked ictus will illustrate the
foregoing statement :

$$/$$

With low [grape-blos|som veil|ing their | white sides.

———————
$$/$$

But co|loured leaves | of lat|ter rose-|blossom,
Stems of | soft grass, | some with|ered red | and some
$$/ \qquad\qquad /$$
Fair and | flesh-blood|ed ; and | spoil splen|dider
$$/ \qquad\qquad /$$
Of mar|igold | and great | spent sun|flower.

———————
$$/$$

There grew | a rose|-garden | in Flo|rence land.
$$\qquad\qquad$$ Swinburne, *The Two Dreams.*

$$/$$

That hath | sunshine | on the | one hand |
$$/$$
And on | the o|ther star-|shining.
$$\qquad\qquad$$ *Id., The Masque of Queen Bersabe.*

$$/$$

Bread failed ; | we got | but well-|water.
$$\qquad\qquad$$ *Id., The Leper.*

It is the halting line (as it is sometimes called) that attracts
notice and excites inquiry into the principles of rhythmic
structure, while the correct line (to borrow another erroneous
designation) pleases the unquestioning ear (it is urged) and is
accepted without a thought of its workmanship.   This lack
of 'correctness' thus negatively makes manifest the quality
violated, just as in the case of that indescribable quality called
tact : if one has tact no one notices it, if one lacks tact, it is
observed by all.

Bysshe in his *Art of English Poetry* (London, 1714, p. 6)
illustrates the poet's lack of rhythmic tact in the following
lines from Davenant :

" None think Rewards render'd worthy their Worth."
"And both Lovers, both thy Disciples were."

" In which," he says, " tho' the true Number of Syllables
be observ'd, yet neither of them have so much as the Sound
of a Verse : Now their Disagreeableness proceeds from the
undue Seat of the Accent."   Watts had also cited these two
lines (*Works*, 1812–1813, vol. IX, 442 f.) and declared that
" worthy " and " Lovers," placed as they are, " turn the line
into perfect prose."   Bysshe proceeds to obviate " the undue
seat of the accent," and presents the lines in " smooth and
easy form : "

" None think Rewards are equal to their Worth."
"And Lovers both, both thy Disciples were."

But surely the poet must be allowed to have his own way :

" None think | Rewards | render'd | worthy | their Worth."
"And both | Lovers, | both thy | Discip|les were."

From these lines we may select *lovers* and *render* as repre-
senting the two principal classes of secondary word-accents
(native and foreign), which have been at all times and are

still available for ictus. Nouns of agency in *-er* have been
studied with regard to rhythmic value in the early periods
of the language by ten Brink (*Anglia*, v, 1 f.), and the
poets of to-day are aware of the old value. The extension of
this capability of ictus from nouns of agency and compara-
tives through nouns of relationship (*father, mother, brother,
sister*) and formations like *after, never*, until even *water* is
overtaken, is comprised within the extremes indicated by
Poema Morale 250, "Ne mei hit quenche salt wa͞ter," and
Rossetti's *Honeysuckle*, "And fouled my feet in quag-wa͞ter,"
and the line already cited from Swinburne. As to *render*,
the O.F. *rendre* coming into English should have lost its
infinitive termination (cf. *defend, offend*), but it did not do so,
presumably in conformity to the rhematic noun *render*. A
dissyllabic form was thus obtained which was subject to that
play of stress which is characteristic of French words in
English. However, this is not the occasion to pursue the
history of secondary word-stress. The additional law of
rhythm which permits ictus upon logically subordinate words,
such as the articles, the pronouns, the prepositions, and the
inflectional endings, may also, for the present, be dismissed
from minute attention.

Professor Hale (*Proceedings of the American Philological
Association* for July, 1895, p. xxvi) asks, "Did verse-ictus
destroy word-accent in Latin poetry?" Surely not, as he
then proceeds to show. Both varieties of stress are conserved
in the music of verse, for verse is not an aggregation of
syllables mechanically marked off by beats or by foot-measure,
but it is an artfully planned succession of syllables rhythmi-
cally marked off by beats or by foot-measure with a strictness
of uniformity that may appear to be mechanical when the
rhythmic swing, the lilt, is neglected. It must therefore be
admitted as a fundamental rule that verse, which is con-
structed with an artistic regard to the conflict of ictus and

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word-accent, must also be read in a manner that will render it possible to observe the 'conflict.'

But let us return to Dr. Watts. It is not to be supposed that the author of the *Horae Lyricae* was unwilling to admit at least some of the usually approved variations of rhythm. Indeed he is at special pains to caution against monotony of movement, and is bold enough to say of Mr. Dryden, that he observes the iambic measure "perhaps with too constant a regularity. So in his Virgil he describes two serpents in ten lines, with scarce one foot of any other kind, or the alteration of a single syllable:"

"Two serpents rank'd abreast, the seas divide,
And smoothly sweep along the swelling tide.
Their flaming crest above the waves they show,
Their bellies seem to burn the seas below:
Their speckled tails advance to steer their course,
And on the sounding shore the flowing billows force,
And now the strand, and now the plain they held,
Their ardent eyes with bloody streaks were fill'd;
Their nimble tongues they brandish'd as they came,
And lick'd their hissing jaws, that spatter'd flame."

There is therefore, according to Dr. Watts, an occasional substitution of other feet necessary to produce the best harmony of iambic verse. "In the lines of heroic measure," he says, "there are some parts of the line which will admit a spondee, * * *; or a trochee, * * *. A happy intermixture of these will prevent that sameness of tone and cadence, which is tedious and painful to a judicious reader, and will please the ear with a greater variety of notes; provided still that the iambic sound prevails." The spondee may be admitted in the place of any of the five feet of a line, "but scarce any other place in the verse, besides the first and the third, will well endure a trochee, without endangering the harmony, spoiling the cadence of the verse, and offending the ear."

Professor Browne (*Modern Language Notes*, IV, col. 197 f.) is concerned with this same question of how to secure rhythmic variety in the iambic pentameter line "without letting go the design;" but his answer differs widely and significantly from that of Dr. Watts. "Any variation is allowable," says Professor Browne, "that does not obscure or equivocate the genus." The permissible variation may be obtained (1) by dropping one, or by dropping two of the five accents; (2) by reversing one, or by reversing two of the five accents; and (3) "by combining omissions and reversals."

Although the way has now been opened to a discussion of the opinions held of the manner in which poetry should be read, it will be sufficient, as will appear from what follows, to dismiss from further consideration in this connection the teaching that poetry should be read as one reads prose. This doctrine shall be called the sense-doctrine, its advocates maintaining that it alone enables the reader to 'bring out' the meaning. It is thus that the relation of the art of poetry to music is ruthlessly pushed aside by the assumption that the harmony of the 'numbers' must not be regarded as much as the logic of the sense. But it is a welcome fact that these disciples of logic do not press to a logical conclusion an application of their rule for poetry to the sister art, for that would result in demanding that music written for words (or music supplied with words) be rendered in recitativo.

Opposed to the sense-doctrine is that which more than the word-play might justify one in naming the commonsense-doctrine; but let it be known as the rhythm-doctrine. In its baldest form it may be stated thus: Read poetry like poetry. This, it may be thought, means either nothing, or next to nothing. Even after the suppressed contrast 'not like prose' is added, the statement remains vague, and this vagueness has, without doubt, indirectly begotten the first doctrine. Without success in finding an acceptable manner for reading poetry like poetry, the myopic doctrinaire has concluded that it must be read like prose.

There is a third teaching which is also begotten of the second, but the unsatisfactory result of its application has perhaps been the more direct begetter of the first.   It may be styled the ictus-doctrine, for it consists in the demand that, in reading verse, stress shall uniformly and exclusively be confined to ictus.

It is thus seen that in the attempt to follow the second doctrine, as here enumerated, failure has resulted in bringing forth two additional doctrines.   Failure in fundamentals does not usually lead to success, nor has it done so in this instance. The second doctrine is therefore still the true one, although it may stand in need of exposition and inculcation.

That the rhythm-doctrine is in general better known in theory than observed in practice has perhaps been made sufficiently manifest.   Classical scholars report an experience with it in reading Greek and Latin verse which is full of interesting variations in degree of satisfactory achievement; and recent discussion of the theory as applied to Latin is still full of that unrest which is indicative of an inconclusively handled problem.

An attempt shall now be made not to vindicate this doctrine by reasoning from the essential laws of rhythm, particularly as related to music, but rather to discover for English the manner in which the accents and vocal inflections of our language allow and require it to be put into practice.   To free the problem from unnecessary complication certain factors, important enough from another point of view, shall be at once eliminated.   The argument will not be invalidated by excluding from consideration the so-called trochaic beginning of iambic verse, or the equally well authorized first foot without a thesis.   The effects of cæsura shall also be passed by, and it will not be necessary to draw the distinction at every step between word-accent and sentence-accent.   Moreover, the rhetoric of verse, as it may be called, shall not be narrowly inquired into, important as it is for the full appreciation of rhythm.

Such 'regular' lines as those quoted from Dryden comprise no 'conflict,' and consequently give no occasion for distinguishing between the second and third doctrines, and almost none for noting differences between these and the first. But such 'regularity' in excess is a violation of the artistic demands of English versification which can be satisfactorily met only by the employment (not a uniform nor a systematic employment, yet with variation of degree a constant employment) of 'conflict.' Admitting the artistic use of 'conflict' in English verse, it is reasonable to expect to find within the limits of the accents and vocal inflections of the language, when unrestrained by verse, an indication of the manner in which, with least violence to its natural utterance, the language may be subjected to artificial rules. In other words, it is prose that must teach us how to read poetry. Verse-accent, or ictus, when in 'conflict' reveals the language in responding to the exigencies of verse. In doing this the language yields a new class of stresses (new from the point of view from which the prose-stresses are usually observed). Now, if similar, that is, in some sense corresponding, exigencies arose in prose, and these were found also to yield a new class of stresses, something would surely be gained for the determination of the nature of these two classes of new stresses. Such exigencies do not arise in prose, as we shall next proceed to show.

In Carlyle's spirited, though not invariably accurate, reproduction of the delightful *Chronicle of Jocelin de Brakelond*,[1] the election to the abbacy of the incomparable Samson is urged with a special emphasis upon " ungoverned : " " What is to hinder this Samson from governing? * * * There exists in him a heart-abhorrence of whatever is incoherent, pusillanimous, unveracious,—that is to say, chaotic, *un*governed" (*Past and Present*, Bk. II, chap. IX). The same variety of emphasis is employed upon another ecclesiastical occasion :

[1] *Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda de rebus gestis Samsonis Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Edmundi.* London, The Camden Society, 1840.

" '*Pre*-cisely' remarked the senior trustee" of the Methodist Church of Octavius (*The Damnation of Theron Ware*). Something akin to an ecclesiastical occasion evoked the following reflection and *in*-flection of Young Ben Lee as he left the deanery after his first visit: " *Je*-rusalem ! if my sainted parent isn't a first-rate actor and a cool hand !" (*The Silence of Dean Maitland*). Under totally different conditions and amid other associations, Ben Gunn is recalling the pious teaching of his mother, and finds a new emphasis necessary to assure his hearer that she was " *re*-markable pious " (*Treasure Island*).

The examples cited give an indication of a wide-reaching and permanent phenomenon in our natural manner of employing special stresses in prose. The unaccented prefixes, under demands (among which contrast holds an important place) for special logical prominence, are easily made prominent without disturbing the fixed word-accent. The same is true of derivative and inflectional elements, and of the second member of substantive compounds. Corresponding to these variations which cluster around the word-accent as super-additions, there is in the domain of sentence-accent a class of new stresses which is familiar in the emphatic use, on occasion, of words usually unimportant and without accent, such as the prepositions, the pronouns, the articles, the auxiliary and the copulative verbs, etc.

It will now be apparent that the new class of prose-stresses under consideration are suggestive of the new poetry-stresses which the exigencies of rhythm call into prominence. And since the rhythmic use of the language must be supposed to be equally subject to the inherent character of the language with the corresponding special prose-use, the inference is to be drawn that the resultant new classes of stresses agree in character. Moreover, it will at once be recognized that the new prose-stress is not a word-stress, equal to the regular word-stress in expiratory force, nor a reduced form of the expiratory word-stress (which would be nothing more than

a secondary-accent in prose), but a stress with a rising inflection, a 'pitch-accent.' Therefore, the complete inference is that the verse-accent, the ictus, when in ' conflict,' is attended by a pitch-accent.

The conclusion arrived at may be restated in a manner which will assist verification. Under the assumed exigencies, *un*-governed, *pre*-cisely, *re*-markable, and J*e*-rusalem (in the passages quoted), are naturally pronounced with a pitch-accent upon the first syllables, and with the undisturbed expiratory word-accent upon the second. It will of course be understood that when the word-accent is defined as expiratory this term does not exclude the inherent pitch of English stress. Force, quantity, and pitch are combined in our word-stress (or word-accent), both primary and secondary; but in the secondary stress used as ictus there is a noticeable change in the proportions of these elements, the pitch being relatively increased. An answer is thus won for the question : How do we naturally pronounce two stresses in juxtaposition on the same word, or on adjacent words closely joined grammatically? This is further illustrated in the specially emphasized words of such expressions as, 'The *idéa!*' (the symbol ″ shall be used to mark the pitch-accent); ' In that case one should say not *good* but *goodly*, not *brave* but *bravely;*' 'Altho' he *writes*, he is not a *writer;*' 'Not *praise* but *praising* gives him delight;' ' He promised to do so, *and now* he denies it;' ' They were not coming *to him*, but going *from him*.' Expressions of this type reveal the law that secondary word-accents may become pitch-accents, and that pitch-accents may also be required for words ordinarily unaccented.

This interpretation of ' conflict' in prose (conflict between the usual accents of prose on the one side, and on the other side the accents of prose under exigencies), may be confidently accepted as applicable to the rhythm of verse, and the conclu-

sion is reached, that verse is to be read with an uninterrupted observance of its fundamental rhythm.　Thus,

　　　/　　　　　″　/　　　　　″　　　　/
Of Man's first disobedience, and the fruit.
　　　/　　/　　/　　　″　　　/
To be, or not to be : that is the question.
　　″　　/　　　/　　　　″　　　　/
The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
　　/　　″　　/　　　　″　　　/
No traveller returns, puzzles the will.

Here, if the prose secondary-stress of the last syllables of " traveller " and " puzzles " were uttered just as in prose, with reduced expiratory force, the ictus would not be satisfactorily indicated.　Again, if, for the sake of the regularly recurring ictus, these secondary word-accents were made equal in expiratory force to the chief word-accent, the result would, in

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one instance (*traveller*), preserve the ictus by admitting an unnatural and an inadmissible utterance of the word ; in the

　　　　　　/　/
second instance (*puzzles*) the inadmissible utterance would render uncertain the place of the ictus.　Two equal word-accents on the same word are therefore as impossible in verse as they are in prose.　But the secondary word-accent may in verse be retained unchanged, and in that character be employed in the thesis; or it may naturally (i. e., in accordance with acceptable utterance) be converted into a pitch-accent for ictus, in which character it leaves the chief word-accent undisturbed by inadmissible rivalry.　The

　　　　　　　″　　/　\
rhythmic use of dis-o-be-dience, in the first line cited above, illustrates with its four syllables (as here used) as many recognizable varieties of stress.　The first syllable has a secondary word-accent, raised to a pitch-accent for ictus ; the second is wholly unaccented ; the third has the chief word-accent, employed as ictus (the accent of the preceding word, " first," is subordinated to the rhythm); the fourth has a secondary word-accent which remains unchanged in the thesis.

The conclusion that ictus in 'conflict' requires a pitch-accent, is perhaps applicable to Old English verse, in which the rhythmic use of the secondary word-stress, now in the arsis, now in the thesis, coincides in essential details with the use just described. It is possible, for example, that in the case of the secondary word-stresses of $\angle \searrow \mid \angle \times$ (A), and $\times \angle \mid \searrow \times$ (C) the pitch-accent distinguishes the secondary word-accent as ictus from the same accent when it remains in the thesis. But suggestions leading in this direction cannot be pursued at this time.

The second and final suggestion to be made embraces an application of the laws ascertained to be inherent in English rhythm to the scansion in Old English verse of those proper names which, as shown at the beginning of this study, do not with the exclusive metrical use of the chief word-accent meet the requirements of the rhythm.

It has already been shown, in the case of Je-ru-sa-lem, that a proper name in prose under exigencies yields a pitch-accent for a syllable not entitled to the chief word-stress. In the manner of this example the unaccented initial syllable of all proper names may on occasion receive a new stress, and this may, as in the case of the prefixes considered, be used for verse-ictus. But inasmuch as there is no grammatical analogy between these syllables and the prefixes, it remains to be shown what inherent quality of the initial syllable of a proper name produces the result which thus makes conspicuous the absence of such analogy. This inherent quality of a proper name which easily begets an accentual prominence of the initial syllable may be called its vocative quality, inasmuch as every proper name is *ipso facto* a vocative.

Whatever place (removed from the initial syllable) in a name its chief word-stress may hold, its initial syllable is constantly prominent in the mind by reason, apparently, of this vocative quality. In the distinct calling out of names (of the form in question) the natural emphasis given to the

name as a whole will be found to consist of a rising inflection on the initial syllable, followed by a strongly stressed word-accent. Thus, *Elizabeth, Alexander, Matilda, Marie*, etc. This vocative stress, it is now seen, finds its true analogy in the secondary word-stress, and is like it therefore available for ictus, as has been assumed in the earlier portion of this study, and as may be observed in modern verse in the case of names with the stresses distributed as they are in *Alexander*.

In Old English verse proper names can with difficulty (some not at all) be used without the rhythmic aid of this vocative ictus. But because of the special character of this secondary accent (as by analogy it may be called), and because of the further fact that the types of rhythm, as they are now generally interpreted, abound in the employment for ictus of secondary word-accents without regard to syllabic quantity, it must be maintained (until new evidence for the opposed view may be produced) that this ictus-use of the initial unaccented syllable of foreign proper names does not involve lengthening of the short vowels.

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